

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 219520 TOSEC 260035

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN THRU SONNENFELDT

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP(KISSINGER, HENRY A.), GW

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM--YOUR MEETING WITH
CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER

1. PARTICIPANTS.

FRG: CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT

FOREIGN MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER

US: SECRETARY KISSINGER

2. CHECKLIST.

--SOUTHERN AFRICA. FILL IN GENSCHER ON THE RESULTS OF
YOUR MEETING WITH VORSTER.

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--GREECE-TURKEY-CYPRUS. EMPHASIZE OUR CONCERN OVER THE
CURRENT SITUATION IN THE AEGEAN AND DESCRIBE OUR EFFORTS
TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEM THERE AND ON CYPRUS.

--AID TO EGYPT. REITERATE THE HOPE THAT THE FRG WILL GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION TO A CONTRIBUTION TO CAIRO.

--LAW OF THE SEA. EXPRESS APPRECIATION FOR FRG COOPERATION AT THIS CONFERENCE.

--EURO-ARAB DIALOG. URGE THAT THE EC NINE CONTINUE TO HOLD THE LINE AGAINST ARAB PRESSURES.

--NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. EXPRESS PLEASURE AT THE IMPROVED PROSPECTS FOR RESUMPTION OF WORK BY THE CIEC COMMISSIONS.

--FRG UNGA INITIATIVE ON HOSTAGES. OFFER THE HOPE THAT THE FRG UNGA PROPOSAL WILL LEAD TO CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION AND EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION.

--BERLIN. STATE THAT IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS THAT BERLIN NOT BE OVERLY DRAMATIZED DURING THE FRG ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

3. SETTING.

YOU LAST SAW GENSCHER IN WASHINGTON ON JULY 15 AND 16, DURING THE SCHMIDT VISIT. OCCUPIED WITH DUTIES AT HOME-- ESPECIALLY PREPARATIONS FOR THE "HOT PHASE" OF THE FRG ELECTION CAMPAIGN--GENSCHER DID NOT COME TO THE CURRENT

LAW OF THE SEA SESSION IN NEW YORK. HE IS EXPECTED TO SPEAK AT THE UNGA DURING A BRIEF VISIT SEPTEMBER 27-29, WITH THE PROSPECT OF A RETURN TRIP TO NEW YORK AFTER THE OCTOBER 3 GERMAN ELECTION FOR MORE BILATERALS.

POLLS SHOW THAT THE SPD/FDP RETAINS A SLIGHT EDGE OVER THE CDU/CSU, ALTHOUGH THE DIFFERENCE IS TOO SMALL TO HAVE ANY CERTAIN STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE. RECENT CONFIDENTIAL

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EVENTS ALONG THE FRG-GDR BORDER HAVE NOT MATERIALLY AFFECTED THE STANDINGS. A GREATER PERCENTAGE OF VOTERS CONSIDER THEMSELVES ALREADY COMMITTED AT THIS STAGE THAN WAS THE CASE ONE MONTH PRIOR TO THE 1972 ELECTION, GIVING ADDED WEIGHT TO THE SMALL GROUP OF STILL UNDECIDED VOTERS.

THE FRG ECONOMY IS BASICALLY STRONG, WITH BOTH EXPORTS AND IMPORTS RUNNING CONSIDERABLY ABOVE 1975 LEVELS. UNEMPLOYMENT SEEMS TO HAVE STABILIZED AT ABOUT 4.2 PERCENT.

ESSENTIALLY, THE CHANCELLOR SHOULD BENEFIT ON OCTOBER 3 AS A RESULT OF THE GENERAL PROSPERITY, AND THE FACT

THAT THE FRG IS ECONOMICALLY THE STRONGEST COUNTRY--BY FAR--IN WESTERN EUROPE.

WHILE FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAVE NOT PLAYED A DOMINANT ROLE IN

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, THE LOCKHEED CASE HAS SUDDENLY

BECOME AN ELECTION ISSUE. ATTENTION HAS FOCUSED ON FRG GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AN AGREEMENT WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ON THE TRANSFER OF SEC DOCUMENTS CONCERNING LOCKHEED AND THE F-104 SALE. THIS EFFORT IS BEING ATTACKED BY THE CDU/CSU AS AN ELECTION MOVE DESIGNED TO DISCREDIT FRANZ-JOSEF STRAUSS. STRAUSS HIMSELF IS ENGAGED IN A LAWSUIT AGAINST STERN MAGAZINE, WHICH IS PUBLISHING DOCUMENTS INDICATING HE TOOK LOCKHEED PAYOFFS WHILE DEFENSE MINISTER IN THE 1960'S. STRAUSS MAINTAINS THAT THESE DOCUMENTS ARE FALSE.

INTEREST REMAINS STRONG IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN ISSUES--INCLUDING SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS. ESPECIALLY GIVEN ELECTION CONSIDERATIONS, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE FRG GOVERNMENT TO MAINTAIN CLOSE,

HIGH-LEVEL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE US ON THESE MATTERS. GENSCHER WILL THEREFORE BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN THE RESULTS OF YOUR MEETING WITH VORSTER.

4. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS.

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AEGEAN. THE SEPTEMBER 1-25 SAILING PROGRAM OF THE SISMIC IN THE AEGEAN HAS COMPLICATED THE PROCESS SET FORTH IN THE AUGUST 25 SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHEN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WILL BEGIN BUT CERTAINLY NOT BEFORE SEPTEMBER 25 AT THE EARLIEST. THE GREEKS REGARD SISMIC'S CURRENT OPERATIONAL AREA AS A DELIBERATE ACT OF PROVOCATION. THEY HAVE TOLD US THEY WILL NOT ALLOW SUCH PROVOCATIONS BY TURKEY TO GO "UNCHECKED" AND HAVE INSTRUCTED THEIR PERMREP IN NEW YORK TO INFORM THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL. THE OFFICIAL AND PRESS REACTION IN ATHENS HAS, HOWEVER, BEEN RELATIVELY RESTRAINED THUS FAR.

YOUR TALKING POINTS.

--WE ARE ANXIOUS TO SEE DIRECT TALKS BEGIN BETWEEN THE

PARTIES AT AN EARLY DATE ALTHOUGH SISMIC'S PRESENT COURSE MAY MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO GET SUCH DISCUSSIONS UNDERWAY.

--WE ARE CONTINUING TO URGE BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY

TO SET NO NEW PRE-CONDITIONS FOR BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS;
WE HOPE YOU WILL DO SO AS WELL.

--WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON HOW A CONFRONTATION
IN THE AEGEAN CAN BE AVOIDED.
CYPRUS.

ALTHOUGH NEITHER SIDE SEEMS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED
IN RESUMING THE INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS AT THIS TIME,
WE THINK BOTH WOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO AN EFFORT BY
WALDHEIM TO DO SO IN NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER. THERE IS
EVIDENCE THAT THE LEDRA PALACE HUMANITARIAN TALKS IN
NICOSIA SHOULD BEGIN AGAIN IN THE NEAR FUTURE, A STEP
WHICH WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE
COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS.

YOUR TALKING POINTS.

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--WE CONTINUE TO SEE MERIT IN HOLDING ANOTHER ROUND
OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

--WE WOULD WELCOME YOUR ASSISTANCE AND IDEAS ON HOW
THE CYPRUS INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS CAN BE RELAUNCHED AT
AN EARLY DATE.

AID TO EGYPT.

THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY REMAINS IN A CRITICAL SITUATION, AND
YOU HAVE JUST SENT A PERSONAL MESSAGE TO GENSCHER
REQUESTING THE FRG TO GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION
TO A \$100 MILLION BONN CONTRIBUTION TO CAIRO.

--I RECENTLY SENT YOU A LETTER ON AID TO EGYPT URGING
YOUR GOVERNMENT TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO ADDITIONAL
HELP.

--EGYPT'S BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SITUATION FOR THIS YEAR
REMAINS CRITICAL. I HOPE GERMANY CAN BE HELPFUL.

LOS.

THE FRG HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE ONE OF OUR
STRONGEST SUPPORTERS AT THE LOS CONFERENCE. IN AREAS
SUCH AS THE DEEP SEABEDS QUOTA ISSUE THE CLOSE
ASSOCIATION OF THE FRG HAS PROVEN TO BE VERY VALUABLE.

YOUR TALKING POINTS.

--I APPRECIATE YOUR PROMPT RESPONSE TO MY LETTER AND
AM GIVING YOUR CONCERNS CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

--WE APPRECIATE THE COOPERATION AND CLOSE WORK OF THE FRG AT THIS CONFERENCE. A CONTINUATION OF SUCH SUPPORT IS IMPERATIVE TO BRINGING ABOUT SOLUTIONS TO THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCKS (MOSTLY COMMITTEE I ISSUES) OF THIS CONFERENCE.

--WE WILL CONTINUE TO KEEP THE FRG OFFICIALS INFORMED AS TO THE CONSULTATIONS OF THE GROUP OF FIVE.
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EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE.

WHEN YOU MET WITH DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL LAST MONTH IN THE HAGUE, HE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER WEAKENING UK, AND TO A LESSER EXTENT FRG, POSITIONS ON THE EXPANSION OF THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE INTO THE POLITICAL REALM. YOU TOLD VAN DER STOEL YOU WOULD RAISE THE MATTER WITH CROSLAND AND GENSCHER WHEN YOU NEXT MEET.

THE FIRST GENERAL SESSION (AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL) OF THE EC-ARAB DIALOGUE, HELD IN LUXEMBOURG DURING MAY, FEATURED EXCHANGES OF VIEWS (NOT "DISCUSSIONS," THE EC INSISTED) ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, WITH COMMUNITY POSITIONS REMAINING AS STATED ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS. WHILE THE EC FELT IT HAD FORMALLY HELD THE LINE AGAINST ECONOMIC TALKS, INFORMAL POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS WERE IN THE FOREFRONT AND THE ARABS ARE CONFIDENT THE PROCESS CAN BE FURTHER ERODED BY RAISING POLITICAL TOPICS AT EACH SUCCEEDING SESSION AND BY CONTINUING TO URGE ESCALATION OF THE LEVEL OF ATTENDEES. A MINISTERIAL SESSION COULD BE CALLED FOR EARLY NEXT YEAR BY A MEETING OF SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS FROM EACH SIDE SCHEDULED FOR MID-NOVEMBER 1976.

YOUR TALKING POINTS.

--WE HOPE THE EC NINE WILL CONTINUE TO HOLD THE LINE AGAINST ARAB PRESSURES TO POLITICIZE THE EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE, AND ESPECIALLY AGAINST GRANTING THE PLO AN INCREASED AND SEPARATE ROLE IN THE DIALOGUE.

--THE POLITICIZATION OF THE DIALOGUE WOULD ONLY SERVE TO COMPLICATE THE SITUATION IN THE AREA AND WEAKEN THE EFFORTS OF THE MODERATE ARABS TO KEEP THE PLO UNDER CONTROL.

NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.

IT NOW APPEARS THAT THE CHANCES ARE GOOD FOR THE CIEC
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COMMISSIONS TO RESUME THEIR WORK IN PARIS IN SEPTEMBER, POSSIBLY ON THE 13TH AS ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED. THE FRG STRONGLY FAVORS A CONTINUATION OF THE DIALOGUE AND SUPPORTS OUR POLICY OF NOT MISLEADING THE G-19 ON THE DEBT AND INDEXATION ISSUES. YOUR TALKING POINTS.

--WE ARE PLEASED BY THE IMPROVED PROSPECTS THAT THE CIEC COMMISSIONS WILL RESUME THEIR WORK THIS MONTH.

--G-8 SOLIDARITY AND UNWILLINGNESS TO MISLEAD THE G-19 ON THE DEBT AND INDEXATION ISSUES WERE IMPORTANT FACTORS IN INFLUENCING THE G-19 TO SEEK CONTINUATION OF THE CIEC ON ACCEPTABLE TERMS.

FRG INITIATIVE REGARDING HOSTAGES.

WE FEEL THE FRG DRAFT UNGA RESOLUTION IS REASONABLE, AND, ASSUMING TEXT REMAINS SUBSTANTIALLY UNCHANGED, WOULD EXPECT TO CO-SPONSOR.

--WE BELIEVE THE FRG PROPOSAL CONCERNING HOSTAGES OFFERS THE PROSPECT OF EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION. WE HOPE IT WILL ELICIT NON-POLEMICAL DEBATE ON THE HOSTAGE PROBLEM.

BERLIN.

BERLIN AND RELATED ISSUES CONCERNING FRG RELATIONS WITH THE GDR HAVE BECOME MORE CONTROVERSIAL RECENTLY BECAUSE OF SHOOTING INCIDENTS ON THE INNER-GERMAN BORDER AND THE TURNING BACK BY THE GDR OF CDU YOUTHS TRAVELLING TO BERLIN TO PROTEST THE WALL. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, MINDFUL OF CDU/CSU CAMPAIGN CRITICISM OF THE BONN COALITION'S ALLEGED FLABBINESS ON BERLIN, HAS EXPRESSED THANKS FOR THE US' STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE AUGUST 26 ALLIED PROTEST TO THE SOVIETS WHICH LABELED THE INTER-FERENCE WITH THE ACCESS ROUTES A CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE QA. HE IS ALSO VERY LIKELY AWARE OF YOUR PERSONAL MESSAGE TO SAUVAGNARGUES, WHICH SUCCEEDED IN GAINING FRENCH CONSENT TO THE AUGUST 31 ALLIED TURNDOWN OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE FOUR POWER GREETINGS ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE QA. HAD THE EXCHANGE GONE FORWARD IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY AWKWARD FOR THE COALITION IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN DUE TO

THE RECENT INCIDENTS WITH THE GDR.

GENSCHER, WHO SOMETIMES WORKS AT CROSS-PURPOSES WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S EFFORTS TO KEEP BERLIN ISSUES AT A LOW-KEY IN THE CAMPAIGN, MAY COME UNDER PRESSURE TO REACT IN A HARDLINE FASHION TO OPPOSITION CRITICISM. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU IMPRESS ON HIM THAT IT IS IN THE COMMON INTEREST OF THE ALLIES AND THE FRG THAT HE EXERCISE RESTRAINT REGARDING BERLIN IN THE FOUR WEEKS REMAINING BEFORE THE ELECTIONS.

YOUR TALKING POINTS.

--WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR BERLIN'S FREEDOM AND VIABILITY THAT THE QA BE STRICTLY OBSERVED AND FULLY IMPLEMENTED;

--FOR THIS REASON, THE US PUSHED FIRMLY FOR THE AUGUST 26 ALLIED PROTEST WHICH CONDEMNED THE INTERFERENCE WITH THE ACCESS ROUTES AS A CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE QA;

--SIMILARLY, WE ARE WORKING FOR AN EARLY RESPONSE TO THE AUGUST 3 SOVIET PROTEST AGAINST PLANS FOR BERLIN'S REPRESENTATION IN A POPULARLY-ELECTED EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT;

--AS YOU KNOW, WE SHARED YOUR ASSESSMENT THAT IN VIEW OF THE INNER-GERMAN BORDER INCIDENTS AND THE INTERFERENCE WITH ACCESS TO BERLIN, IT WOULD NOT BE OPPORTUNE FOR THE ALLIES TO EXCHANGE GREETINGS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE QA;

--ISVESTIA AND PRAVDA CHOSE TO OBSERVE THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY BY PRINTING RELATIVELY MILD COMMENTARIES ON SEPTEMBER 3 WHICH CONCENTRATED ON THE ARGUMENT THAT THE QA ESTABLISHES A BALANCE WHICH MUST NOT BE UNDERMINED. I AM SURE THE BONN GROUP WILL CONSIDER CONFIDENTIAL

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WHETHER AN ALLIED PRESS STATEMENT IS NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE;

--I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE SHOULD THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES OBSCURE THE REAL AND CONTINUING BENEFITS WHICH THE QA HAS BROUGHT TO BERLIN;

--ACCORDINGLY, I BELIEVE IT WOULD NOT BE IN THE INTEREST OF EITHER OF OUR GOVERNMENTS THAT DIFFERENCES WITH THE

SOVIETS CONCERNING BERLIN BE OVERLY DRAMATIZED IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS NOW UNDERWAY IN OUR COUNTRIES.

5. DRAFTED: EUR, G. HUMPHREY.

CLEARED: C, HOPPER; EB, CREEKMORE; D/LOS, BERNHARD;
NEA, KENNEDY.

ROBINSON

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